715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

728 669

643 185 565 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [65,1] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a

far, without considering private expenditure

Singapore G-5 (1934-35)1965 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1] Hence the last official uses of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new Militia Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

182 628 411 436 [720] 182 671 576 183 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 673 728 671 [625] I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts, whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is *essential for progress towards self-rule* is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] 000 In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

Emigration and Immigration

Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

701 DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

579 721 643 Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

648 ● 728 Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37 as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

648 At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

185 625 701 From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

[87] 113

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

18:Ingrams G-3 (2234-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

IP:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)/038 MMS Hadhramaut MMS

should like to emphasise the great and beneficial part the Royal Air Force play in the development of the Protectorate. It would be impossible to do anything like so much as is now being done to help the people if they were not there, for it would require a much larger political staff. There are no more popular visitors in the Protectorate than the Air Force and the people are always glad to see them not only for the services they render them, such as the bringing of doctors, the giving of lifts and the carrying of letters, but, perhaps more than all these, simply for their friendly visits and for the good fellowship that results from constant contact.

DISCUSSION

Before the paper the DEPUTY PRESIDENT (Professor KENNETH MASON) said: I have to introduce to-night Mr. Harold Ingrams, the first British Resident in Mukalla. We are about to listen to an extremely interesting lecture, in the course of which we shall hear of the more beneficent side of the uses of aeroplanes. Mr. Ingrams has done great work in the Hadhramaut. I will ask him now to commence his lecture.

Mr. Ingrams then read a summary of the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I have had a somewhat unlucky day. I have done my best to persuade the wife of the lecturer to speak to us to-night, but she came here only on the distinct understanding that she should not address us. While sitting beside her during the lecture I have again tried to persuade her to speak, but her answer is "No." However, we have with us Dr. Pike, whom Mr. Ingrams mentioned and who has travelled through the country. I will ask him to be so good as to add a word or two.

Dr. R. W. PIKE: After Mr. Ingrams' marvellous lecture there is little I can do except to confirm many of his statements. Prior to my arrival at Aden I had naturally read some of the publications on the Hadhramaut, and I got the impression that the place was somewhat dangerous; that if people left the coast and travelled inland they did so at their own risk: they survived, but did not have an altogether easy time. Actually when I got there and talked with Mr. Ingrams I found that I could go anywhere I liked.

Very shortly after my arrival in the country I learned of the legend that has grown up around Mr. Ingrams. You heard him say that one thousand members of the Sei'ar tribe signed a peace treaty. I understand he achieved that completely single-handed; he did not have the Royal Air Force with him; so far as I know he went to the country of the tribe armed merely with the idea that the Hadhramaut needed him and he needed the Hadhramaut. After the peace treaty was signed there were heavy rains, and prosperous crops, and everybody felt extremely grateful.

Later, he went down Wadi Hadhramaut with Mrs. Ingrams, and I understand that they were then confronted by a very serious situation which might have cost them their lives. They were exceedingly reticent about all that, but I want to point out that Mr. Ingrams has not had too easy a time. Though things are getting easier now, at the beginning they certainly had a great deal of difficulty. The man who interfered with his progress was later carried away by a flood; he was the only man drowned by the flood; and that more or less improved upon the people that Mr. Ingrams was there to stay and that he had some special powers. Hence the reputation which he has very justly earned.

Fighting is stopped by mutual 728
agreement during three months of every year. It is the time of the yearly fairs, of pilgrimages and travels. Both parties belong to the Nahd tribe and would gladly see the end of their quarrel. There is, however, no central authority here, able to step in and enforce its decision.

We have become aware during these last days that the 721
insecurity here is a much more serious matter than we had thought when everything went so easily and, apparently, so safely. Now we know that we are in the midst of a people longing for a strong hand to create order and legal security. The el-ʿAṭṭās family wished to present the best case possible as regards conditions in their territory. But Sayyid Ḥasan was obliged first to stipulate for a few days' peace in order to make possible our journey to and from Ḥurēḍa through a war zone.

The day before we left, a threatening letter came in from the Bedouins forbidding the passing through of the *Naṣrānīs*. The three Bedouins who brought the letter were clapped into prison and Sayyid Ḥasan threatened to call up all his Bedouin followers to wage war against those who should assail his guests, and then only were we granted freedom of passage. With the Buqrīs we were in the midst of a war zone; there were armed men all over the house; photographing and the taking of bearings from the roof were only allowed under a guard of soldiers and on the condition that we remove our pith helmets; loop-holes were in all the walls, even in the lavatories, and look-outs on the roof.

Whilst tea and preserved ginger are being served, the 721
brothers Buqrī, who know the world, continue the discussion 648
over war in the Malay language. The conflict arose through treachery on the part of the opponent; after that blood was repeatedly shed, and now no squaring of the account could be reached in this bloodfeud. Deliverance could only be brought by foreigners, British or Dutch. Why do they not do it? The Buqrīs would give the preference to Holland over England, in spite of its heavy taxes, because legal security is greater

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

potsherds. We find but few inscriptions and then only in fragments. Von Wissmann wriggled with difficulty into a grotto in the mountain-wall and there found five empty sepulchral niches. It is unbearably hot and none of our company helps us in our investigations. The sun forces us to retreat after we have first taken some photographs and made some sketches.

The return journey is laboriously accomplished, again the cars stall repeatedly in the scorching sand of the wādīs and the body of the car is so hot that one burns oneself when touching it to push. Back at Ruḍēḥ, we seek shelter from the sun's heat in the house of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where the midday meal is awaiting us. Long negotiations have been necessary to achieve this arrangement, for up to a short time ago he was at war with the adherents of Sayyid Abū Bakr. The occasion of our visit is used as a first, cautious attempt at friendship, following on the conclusion of peace a year ago. Ruḍēḥ is a village falling into decline, in a landscape drying up through lack of workers for its irrigation.

Back at Terīm we make a detailed report to our much interested host. The fragments with inscriptions found by us are handed over to him with the request that he will add them to the other pieces from Sūne that are already in his possession. We strongly advise the founding of a museum at Terīm, where antiquities could be preserved; this would prevent their being used in building wells and houses and being made unrecognizable by a layer of plaster, or their being disposed of outside the country.

Preparations have been completed meanwhile for the trip to Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhūt and we can leave on the second day. It is urgent now to make fixed plans for our return journey as that also will require time to arrange. The route Terīm—esh-Shiḥr is open to us; notwithstanding the bad reports concerning this route current in the Qeᶜēṭī territory, Sayyid Abū Bakr takes full responsibility for our safety, should we wish to travel that way. For me personally this is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

571 ested people who, according to the custom of the country, may not be excluded. It is a great disappointment for our host, who seems to have a great deal on his mind, that we are obliged to refuse quite definitely his invitation to stay for a few days and that we must really be in Shibām before nightfall.
722 Now that the time is so short, he goes ahead at once. An outspoken talk over the misery here follows on my question why he does not prefer to live in safety in his beautiful house at Surabaya rather than be a virtual prisoner in this his own palace in el-ʿUqda. He would indeed much rather look after his affairs in Java, but must be here now as head of his family
● 723 and defender of its interests. War has been going on for the past six years, more and ever more blood is shed, and the constantly recurring cry for vengeance removes all prospect of the peace so much desired. It does not appear as if the war can be ended without the intervention of a powerful outsider. He presses the point with the greatst earnestness that our Government should mediate between the contesting parties. England has failed: shortly after the outbreak of the struggle the *wālī* in Aden had proposed a six months' truce and summoned the leaders on both sides. They went and waited at Aden for four months in hope of a solution, and waited in vain. The *wālī* did not understand the matter, his expert assistant went away shortly on leave, and they were soon at the mercy of a corrupt and corruptible Indian interpreter. The leaders of the tribes at war returned to Ḥaḍramaut without having achieved any result. If the Government of Netherlands India would only do so, it could bid hostilities cease without direct intervention, for this reason: the country is full of Dutch subjects having great financial interests in Java. If our Indian Government were merely to threaten, with banishment and confiscation of property, those who did not at once force their families in Ḥaḍramaut to cease hostilities, then peace would be assured. This sounded very logical. Ready interpreters gave a short account of our host's suggestions to the members of the invested garrison, who listened with great interest and

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

expressions of general agreement. Shēkh Sālim went even further. If I would only stay one day more and speak with the leaders of the three parties, it would be an easy matter for me to bring about peace, for everyone was longing for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Many of their ideas were not new to me: I had heard them already in Diyār Āl Buqrī, in Sēwūn, in Terīm. Never, however, had they been posed with so much urgency and in such a concrete form. I was obliged to explain why it was impossible for me to assume the right to act as arbitrator. So long as the the Dutch could only enter the doors of Ḥaḍramaut with Britain's permission, so long would direct contact between our Government and the authorities of that land remain difficult. Also, as long as there existed no central power in the country, such contact would be out of the question. I could only give the advice to strive for unity and the formation of a central power. If they could not do this alone, then co-operation with the British authorities in Aden, to whom, also, they had turned in former times, seemed to be the obvious way.

The struggle was a war between relations, in which the Qeᶜēṭī Government was now also implicated. A certain Ṣālih bin ᶜUbēd bin ᶜAbdād had got el-Ghurfa into his power by treachery. This place was formerly a free town, without a *dōla* and without taxes. The occupation was felt to be unendurable, not only by the other branches of Ṣālih's family, who were envious, but also by the Government of el-Qeᶜēṭī. For there was already a treaty arrangement with Britain according to which the power in Ḥaḍramaut Proper should be divided between two groups: the Āl el-Qeᶜēṭī and the Āl Kathīr. El-Qeᶜēṭī would not put up with a third authority. The twenty two other branches of the Āl ᶜUmar — the family of Ṣālih bin ᶜUbēd — also took a hand in the quarrel, and since then no solution to it has been found.

Towards sundown we took our leave of this group of three country-houses standing out most effectively, with their

G. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden

Hadhramaut MM2

conditions as for tenants. If not owner occupiers, they take responsibility for debts incurred by tenants, to whose settlement or eviction they must agree.

Finance

	Sales bale of 400 lb.	Value £
1949	100	5,270
1950	1,587	121,450
1951	9,890	867,088
1952	6,300	725,810

The contract with the Raw Cotton Commission extends to the season 1955–56.

Seed was sold to the value of £86,300 in 1951 and £54,870 in 1952.

Expenditure of approximately £20,000 loaned by the Colony Government on the first stage of the scheme in 1943–46 was refunded in part, and the balance handed over in the form of improvements and working capital to the Abyan Board on its formation.

Capital liabilities for loans stood at £278,307 at 30th September, 1952.

At the same date, after disposal of the current season's cotton crop, there were fixed assets worth £324,693. Cash and investment funds were available for the provision of £400,000 to a general development reserve; £180,000 to a revenue stabilisation fund; and £25,000 to a sinking fund.

Social Effects

The Scheme has had great beneficial influence on the general economy of the Aden Protectorate.

Peace and security have been extended to an area formerly insecure and the area has been settled by members of many tribes formerly at feud with each other in the Protectorate.

The Scheme has also been responsible for the virtual eradication of malaria in the district. This work conducted by the Protectorate Medical Service has been assisted by the Board which has guaranteed to provide a minimum of £26,000 per annum to a joint States' Medical Service; it has also agreed to provide £20,000 for the building of a hospital.